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Much of the soil has been greatly im-
134 poverished both by use and by the action of the weather. The most productive soil areas consist of alluvial deposits, but the precipitate nature of much of the region precludes the formation of such deposits. The bulk of the soil is rather poor, but still it is of better quality, on the whole, than in adjoining regions to the north, east, and south.[1]

133 In common with several of the African plateaux the Benguela Highland rises very precipitately from the sea. This is one of the most striking features of African geography. The steepness of the
[48] ascent forces the Benguela Railway to use a cog-line for a short distance. The village of Ngendo, described in the section dealing with the social structure, has an elevation of about 1,650 metres (5,400 feet) but is situated at only about 60 miles from the ocean.[2] That part of the intermediate zone which adjoins the Highland on the west consists of river valleys between mountain ridges and is well watered, but between that and the sea the country is very arid. This arid region is in reality a northern extension of the Kalahari, Omaheke, and Namieb deserts. Much of this arid stretch is exceedingly rough mountainous country. All along the African coast there is a coastal plain, but in the region under consideration it is very narrow. Plain and mountain are equally arid and this desert country generally has an elevation of less than 1,000 metres (about 3,280 feet). This intermediate zone is well known to the Ovimbundu and played an important role in the history of their commercial developments since they were obliged to cross it to reach the European stations on the coast.

101 Other adjoining regions have also been of importance to the Ovimbundu. It was from the region to the north between the Highland and the Kuanza River that some of the principal ruling families came. Across this same region the Ovimbundu had their
[177] first European contacts—with the Portuguese establishments on the Kuanza River. In the regions to the south live cattle-raising people whence the Ovimbundu got cattle, whether by raiding or
133 by trading. East of the Kuanza River valley the elevation drops
167 gradually toward the basins of the Congo and the Zambezi. When the slave- and rubber-trades led the Ovimbundu into this region

[1] i.e. of all adjoining regions only on the north-west are there valleys of superior soil. No complete survey of the soils of Angola has been made. Most books overrate the qualities of the soils of the colony.

[2] See *infra*, Chap. II.

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they came to call it *ofeka yonjala*, 'The Hungry Country' or better 'The Country of Hunger', since it was without inhabitants and consequently without the possibility of purchasing provisions.[1] Much of the soil in all three of these adjoining regions is very sandy and comparatively unproductive.

Many rivers find in the Benguela Highland a great catchment basin. The two largest are the Kuanza (Kuanja) and the Cunene (Kunene), both flowing into the Atlantic. Between them are the Queve (Keve, also marked 'Cuvo'), the Balombo, and the Catumbela (Katombela), which also reach the ocean. A peculiar stream is the Cubango (Kuvango or Okavango), which rises near the source of the Cunene, and after becoming a great and free-flowing river loses itself in the Kalahari desert. Some authorities hold that through the Chobe swamp it maintains a seasonal connexion with the Zambezi. In this event the springs of the Benguela Highland feed the waters of both oceans. The part played by the Mbuluvulu plain in Bié (Viye) has often been noted by travellers and writers, for it drains into the Kuanza and also into the Cubango. As with most of the Southern Bantu,[2] rivers have had little directly to do with building the material culture of the Ovimbundu. Watersheds have furnished trade-routes, and fishing has become a side-line occupation for those who live conveniently near the streams. The rivers themselves, however, have always been of the greatest importance to the mass of the people who are dependent upon them for water, whether it comes in the form of rainfall or is taken more directly from the streams.

Climate

The regions under consideration in this study belong to the South Central African zone of summer rains. Coming on the monsoon from the Indian Ocean, the rains are precipitated by cold winds from the south-western antarctic current.[3] The Benguela Highland constitutes a distinct climatic zone, as the fact of the altitude would lead one to infer. The adjoining and coastal regions

[1] Cf. H. W. Nevinson, *A Modern Slavery*, chap. vi (New York: Harpers, 1906); also M. Burr, *A Fossicker in Angola* (London: Adelphi, 1933).

[2] A. J. H. Goodwin, 'Habitat', p. 34, in Schapera, *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1937).

[3] See C. E. P. Brooks and S. T. A. Mirrlees, *A Study of the Atmospheric Circulation over Tropical Africa*. Meteorological Office. Geophysical memoirs no. 55 (London: H.M.S.O., 1932).

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Ovimbundu and their neighbours. I have no tables representative of the Umbundu-speaking *diaspora* at the coast and in other outlying regions. There is an interesting and significant article in *Africa*[1] on those of these *diaspora* which are settled in the Mossamedes–Lubango area. The author has done all that could be expected within the limits of an article necessarily short, and it is to be hoped that subsequent writings may clear up matters left in doubt, especially with regard to the present social structure of the groups described.[2]

The social structure described in this chapter is that of the main body of the Ovimbundu. I may say that from observations and from a study of the genealogical tables collected, I have concluded that the structure of kinship and of social life is fairly homogeneous throughout the several tribes.

The Tribe

A complete enumeration of the Umbundu-speaking tribes or kingdoms with descriptions of their reciprocal relations is included in Chapter XII. Almost half of the twenty-two kingdoms were generally tributaries of one of the larger or more powerful kings, so that for practical purposes the Ovimbundu may be divided into eight or ten tribal groups. Although more than half of the Umbundu kingdoms may be said to be feudatories of the larger ones, it is nevertheless true that each of them had its own separate

[1] C. Estermann, 'Coutumes des Mbali du Sud d'Angola', *Africa*, Jan. 1939, pp. 74–86. The author states that their language is Kimbundu (of Luanda-Malange), but the examples which he gives show that although there are words borrowed from Kimbundu, from Portuguese, and from other sources, the structure both of verbs and of nouns and the method of 'Bantuization' of Portuguese words belong to Umbundu. These people may declare their language to be 'Kimbundu' in imitation of the European usage. So did the native 'Mohongo' taken to Paris by the Mission Rohan-Chabot (*Angola et Rhodesie*, Paris, 1914). I have personally ascertained that Umbundu is commonly spoken in Mossamedes and may also say that the samples of the language given in this article show it to be much the same as that spoken in the cities of Benguela, Lobito, &c. It would be better if an orthography more nearly like that recommended by the International African Institute were used. The term 'Mbali' (va Mbali, Mambari, Ovimbali) is an Umbundu term used for nearly one hundred years to designate those who imitate the Europeans or who live at or near the European towns which are collectively designated by the cognate term—*Lupali*. (For 'Mambari', &c., *vide* Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, pp. 91 f., 371, 384, &c.)

[2] e.g., who is the '*tente* de la jeune mariée ou la "marraine" des noces'? (*op. cit.*, p. 78).

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to-day.[1] The principal Umbundu-speaking groups may be listed as follows:

I. *Independent kingdoms* (in approximate order of their present population):

Mbailundu (*Bailundo*).
Viye (*Bie* or *Bihe*).
Wambu (*Huambo*, *Huamba*, or even *Hambo*).
Ciyaka (*Quiyaca* or *Quiaca*).
Ngalangi (*Galangue*).
Civula[2] (*Quibula*).
Ndulu[2] (*Andulo*, *Ondulo* or even *Ondura*).
Cingolo (*Quingolo*).
Kalukembe (*Caluquembe*, *Caluguembe*, or even *Caluqueme*).
Sambu[2] (*Sambo* or *Sambos*).
Ekekete (*Quiquete*).
Kakonda or Cilombo-coñoma (*Caconda* or *Quilombo*).
Citata (*Quitata*).

II. *Kingdoms generally tributary but not integral parts of the kingdoms to which they owed allegiance*:

Kasongi (*Cassongue*)—generally a tributary of Bailundu.
Ngalanga (*Galanga*)—generally a tributary of Bailundu.
Civanda (*Quibanda*)—generally a tributary of Bailundu.
Namba—generally a tributary of Bailundu.
Sanga—generally a tributary of Bailundu.
Cenge (*Chiengue*)—generally a tributary of Bailundu.
Cipeyo (*Quipeyo*)—a tributary of Bailundu or Wambu.
Mbongo (*Bongo*)—generally a tributary of Wambu.
Elende (*Lende*)—generally a tributary of Ciyaka.

Nearly all of these groups are listed in the report of 1799 to which we have referred, and many of them may be identified on the map of 1776. How long before that had they lived in these their present homes? Since it is already well established that none of the Southern Bantu are autochthonous, we shall not stop to ask

[1] Neither of these accounts mentioned Kasongi, which, according to genealogical evidence, is probably one of the most recently formed of the Umbundu-speaking groups. Both accounts made the non-Umbundu-speaking regions of 'Quibala' (Cipala), Mussende, and Cella tributaries of Bailundu. This was the state of affairs as late as 1893.

[2] See *supra*, p. 167, n. 2.

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that question concerning the Ovimbundu. Rather, whence did they come and when? Can the lines of their migrations now be ascertained? Can their racial origins be determined with even approximate certainty?

The available evidence regarding origins and migrations of the Ovimbundu is mainly of five sorts: (1) linguistic; (2) legendary, whether of the several groups of the Ovimbundu or of the tribes from which they seem to have sprung; (3) historical; (4) evidence from place-names; and (5) evidence of comparative attitudes and culture-traits as between the Ovimbundu and their neighbours. In addition, we might list evidence of physical measurements and blood-group tests, but such evidence is not yet available for the Ovimbundu.

Tribal Origins

Language Affinities. As I pointed out in the introductory chapter, by linguistic classification the Ovimbundu belong to the western 'province' or group of the Southern Bantu. Linguistically, the Ovimbundu belong with their southern neighbours, the so-called 'Bangala'[1] and with the Ambo and Herero. The northern and eastern neighbours all belong to other language groups. This is a fact that must not be lost sight of, especially since Umbundu has been so often confused with the so-called 'Kimbundu' of the Ndongo or Angola kingdom. We are not surprised to find an author of 1846 declare that 'From the Congo to Cabo Negro (Alexander Bay) these black natives all speak the same language (*bunda*) with small changes of dialect';[2] but when this confusion is compounded in works laying claim to considerable value as linguistic and ethnological studies, as, for example, one which was published by a well-known museum in 1930,[3] a protest is in order.

[1] The Ndombe, Nganda, Cilengi, Cipungo, Muila, Mulondo, Humbi, Gambue, &c. I do not know that the term 'Bangala' may be applied with correctness to these people. I only use it for convenience. See 'Notas Etnográficas sôbre os povos indígenas do Distrito da Huila', *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, fev. 1935, p. 41.

[2] Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios sôbre a Statistica d'Angola e Benguella*, part i, p. 196.

[3] See F. u. W. Jaspert, *Die Völkerstämme Mittel-Angolas* (Frankfort, 1930). It is reported that the spurious nature of the works of these writers has been exposed by Baumann and others, but although I have searched, apart from a rather ambiguous footnote in Baumann's *Lunda*, I have found no such references, and am unable to say whether this has been done. The origin of the erroneous concept of a Bunda language (also called Bundu, or Mbundu), has been traced, and correctly I think on the whole, by Max Buchner, 'Die Ambakisten' (in

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Sir Harry Johnston made this classification abundantly clear in his monumental work published in 1919,[1] and the recent translation and revision of Carl Meinhof's important work on Bantu phonology[2] has used Umbundu extensively for illustrative material. It should now be abundantly clear to all that Umbundu is the northernmost of the Southern Bantu languages, and that in their language the Ovimbundu have elements in common with their southern neighbours.

Traditional Histories. Each of the principal groups among the Ovimbundu has legends with regard to the migrations of their forefathers and the country from which they came. For the most part these legends refer to ancestors of the respective royal families, but some references are also made to the people whom these new-comers found in the country which they came to occupy. All of these legends point to countries of origin in the north or north-east. Several writers have noted this as a fact,[3] but it is necessary to take more explicit notice of each of several legends.

Ndulu has not received as much notice as have some of the other Umbundu kingdoms, but I have come to the conclusion that it is perhaps one of the oldest. The tradition runs that the progenitor of the dynasty, Katekula-Mengo, was an elephant-hunter and that he came with his wife, Ukungu (also called Mbala) from the region of the confluence of the Luandu and the Kuanza rivers. Following elephant-herds down the course of the Kuanza they passed the famous rocks of Pungu-a-Ndongo and in them left the imprints of Katekula-Mengo's bow and of Ukungu's basket, which, it is said, may be seen to this day; for in that early day the rocks had not yet hardened but were like fresh concrete. This couple

Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., 1915, pp. 398 ff.). This writer also interestingly and properly shows how the name Kimbundu came to be mistakenly applied to the Ngola or Ndongo language. The error, however, still continues to be propagated (e.g. *vide* A. Miranda Magalhães, 'Os Ambundus de Angola', &c., in *Trabalhos do I° Congresso Nacional de Antropologia Colonial*, Pôrto, 1934, vol. ii, pp. 536–55). This article contains so little of value that a systematic refutation would not be worth while. The writer's notions on the Bantu migrations seem especially fantastic.

[1] *A Comparative Vocabulary of Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, vol. i.

[2] Meinhof, *An Introduction to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages*, translated, revised, and enlarged (Berlin and London, 1932).

[3] J. T. Tucker, *Drums in the Darkness*, p. 34 f. W. D. Hambly (*The Ovimbundu of Angola*) notes this fact at the beginning of his otherwise rather confused chapter on 'Historical Sources'.

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came to the region of Ndulu and wished to settle but could not (i.e. without permission), since they were strangers and newcomers. Thereupon a certain elder of the country, Kakoko by name, caused them to build, first at Ngumba and later at Ndulu-yolosima. Their two sons fought for the succession: Cikolongonjo won and set about to consolidate his position by conquering the va Luimbi, who then left the country. He also won over the region of Kapeyo (*Capeio*), although not by force of arms but through trickery,[1] or superior knowledge. The sixth in the succession and a great-grandson of Katekula-Mengo was Kakulukusu, who, it is said, was a nephew[2] of Cingi I of Bailundu, and was also taken to Luanda when the latter was imprisoned. Historical records show that this was at the end of the campaign of 1774–6.[3] It is chiefly this historical connexion which leads me to place the beginning of Cikolongonjo's rule at about 1680. With regard to the migration of Katekula-Mengo and Ukungu, it seems reasonable to advance the hypothesis that its immediate cause may have been the prolonged wars between the Portuguese and the kingdom of Angola, which ended in 1671 with the taking of the royal residence in the rocks of Pungu-a-Ndongo and its conversion into a presidio. The highland country of Ndulu offered a remote and peaceful refuge.

The Bailundu tradition states that when Katiavala came from Cipala (*Quibala*), he settled in Mbonga and came to visit Mbulu whose village on the capital hill had at first been built only as a hunter's camp, but, largely by reason of its strategical location, had become, or was becoming, the capital of Bailundu. Mbulu gave Katiavala his daughter to wife, which indicates that Mbulu had also come from the same northern stock. There was a good opportunity when Mbulu and his people were away on a hunt, and Katiavala with his followers occupied the capital, while Mbulu

[1] Kapeyo was ruling over the region now called after him. When Cikolongonjo demanded that he submit, Kapeyo agreed only if he should lose in the *elembe* test, which is used in the dry season by putting out cloths by night to find which will be wet in the morning. In this case they left the *alembe* (pl.) out while they went on a hunt, but on returning Cikolongonjo's *elembe*, which was a kerchief, was wet with the spiritual blessing, whereas Kapeyo's, which was paper (since he evidently had not known the difference) was quite destroyed. Kapeyo, having lost, left the country and settled in Viye. It is significant to find articles of European manufacture mentioned in this tradition, which is one of the oldest of Umbundu records; also to note that the invaders from the north were already familiar with such things while the local inhabitants were not.

[2] Cingi was *inamu* (mother's brother) to Kakulukusu.

[3] See historical chart *infra*, p. 224 f.

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167 173 took refuge near the Keve River and called his village Eyula,[1] but it was afterwards called Cimbulu after the founder. The dynasty of Katiavala has ruled Bailundu ever since and has also maintained its connexion with Cipala, which was subject to Bailundu until the end of the last century, at the time of effective European occupation. From Cipala has come the queen, the king's principal wife. Katiavala's son Cingi was the third in succession. As has already been noted,[2] he was captured by the Portuguese in 1776 and died in the fortress of São Miguel in Luanda.[3] This date enables us to place the beginning of Katiavala's dynasty at not earlier than about 1700.

The Viye legend has been told by Dr. J. T. Tucker,[4] and before that was given by Major Serpa Pinto.[5] A recent publication of excerpts from the diaries and notes of A. F. Silva Porto gives a slightly different version of the same legend, together with a few notes on the traditional history of Viye (Bie) until the year 1867.[6] Some of these latter are very valuable and enable us to fix more surely the actual or approximate dates of a number of the kings of Viye. Where Silva Porto's data on the earliest days of Viye conflict with those traditionally current, which latter have also been accepted by Serpa Pinto (1878) and by Tucker (1927), I feel that the former must be taken with considerable reserve. Viye, an elephant-hunter of the Humbi people, was tracking his game down the valley of the Kuanza River when he visited the village of Etalala for a beer-drink. There he saw and loved Kahanda, a princess of the Songo people, and they were married. When Viye died he was buried at Kahoko and his spirit is still expected to furnish the country with rain. The younger son, Kahoko, built up the kingdom of that name, which remained subject to Ekovongo, the new capital, built by the older son Ulundu.[7] It is interesting to note the union of the two tribal groups in this legend: the Songo of the north-east and the Humbi who now live in the south.[8] This legend also

[1] From *Yula*, the root of the verb 'to be overcome'.

[2] See *supra*, p. 171.

[3] See historical chart *infra*, p. 224.

[4] Op. cit., p. 34 f.

[5] Major A. A. da Rocha de Serpa Pinto, *How I crossed Africa*, vol. i, p. 156 f.

[6] A. A. F. da Silva Porto, *Viagens e apontamentos de um portuense em África* (Excerptos do seu Diário) (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1942), pp. 165–71.

[7] This name came from Viye's people—cf. the Mulondo, a tribe related to the Humbi.

[8] They had previously lived farther north, however, in the region of Ndondi

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has it that the people then in the country, apart from the Songo, were 'Ngangela'[1] tribes. Magyar[2] has given different tradition with regard to the origin of the kingdom of Viye. He says that the forefathers came from the land of 'Moropu'[3] about three hundred years previously under the two chiefs 'Kinguri and Schakambundi', and, having conquered 'Masongo', settled on the Luandu River, engaging in agriculture between raids. They had the custom of eating their prisoners, and when there were not enough prisoners they lapsed into internecine warfare and ate each other. Certain leaders began to fear tribal suicide and formed a secret society of buffalo-hunters (*'empakasserros'*), pledged to give up cannibalism by substituting the flesh of the buffalo. When the tribal elder (the 'Jaga') suspected the innovation and objected strenuously, rather than fight the buffalo-hunters moved away and settled on the Kuanza River. After a further subdivision of the tribe, one party, 'under a certain Bihe', went south to the Kukema River, where 'Ganguella' were living, and founded the kingdom of 'Bihe'. Later on, continues Magyar, the people of the 'Jaga' mixed with neighbouring tribes, took on milder manners, and finally found themselves in the land of Kassanji 'near the Kingdom of the well-known Jaga of Kassanji'. This tradition related by Magyar cannot be completely harmonized with the familiar legend of Viye and Kahanda. I have given that tradition as Viye elders told it to me, and have noted that it had already been recorded before. Since these two traditions are at variance, since the version gotten by Serpa Pinto in 1878 is the same one and the only one which is current to-day, and since it is unlikely that in only twenty-one years, between 1857 (when Magyar was in Viye) and 1878, a tradition as interesting as that of the buffalo-hunters should have been forgotten, I am inclined to hypothecate that the source (whether immediate or remote) of the tradition given by Magyar was *not* Viye, but perhaps Songo or even Lunda, both of which regions were visited by Magyar. This report probably contains

where, near Chinguar, is the place called Saviye (Father of Viye); and later, in Ngalangi, whence, according to Ngalangi tradition, came Viye (*cf. infra*).

[1] 'Ngangela' is a deprecatory term by which the Ovimbundu designate the Luimbi, Cimbandi, Lucazi, Nyemba, Ngonzelo, Cokue, and other tribes who live to the east.

[2] Op. cit., p. 266 f.

[3] Dias de Carvalho (*Ethnographia e História Tradicional dos povos da Lunda*, p. 66) explains that this was a term which *os nossos antigos viajantes* applied to Lunda.

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167 173 traditional elements of truth and value, especially since it agrees with the other traditions in tracing descent to Songo, and since its connecting of Songo with the people of Lunda is substantiated by the traditional histories given by Dias de Carvalho,[1] and by Ferreira Diniz.[2] The tradition of Viye, the elephant-hunter of Humbi, is of further interest through the definite connexion which it gives with the people of the south.

Serpa Pinto's version of the Viye traditional history[3] is interesting for its substantial agreement with the tradition current to-day. He gives a genealogical table containing the same number of kings as the table which I got in 1938,[4] and with only two or three differences which might, even so, be resolved. Serpa Pinto was interested in determining dates, which he might easily have done had he bothered to look up the records. Kangombe, the fourth king who 'mounted the stool' in Ekovongo and grandson of Ulundu, the founder, had been sold to Luanda as a slave by his brother Njilahulu for adultery with one of Njilahulu's wives. In Luanda he became a favourite of the governor, was sponsored by him for baptism, and then took the name of his sponsor, Dom Antonio de Lancastre.[5] Returning to Viye, he took with him some very material help in arms and a few warriors. Dom Antonio de Lancastre held the office of governor from 1772 to 1779. Since there was war in Bailundu, &c., between 1773 and 1776, Kangombe's return was probably toward the end of Dom Antonio's term of office—say, 1778. This being the case, the founding of Viye was probably about 1750.

The Ngalangi tradition also tells of this connexion in another way, but it is of especial interest because it is the only one which attempts to relate the beginning of things. Feti it was, say the Ngalangi elders, who began, that is to say, he came down from above, and whence he came is not known. Inasmuch as he had no wives, he went to a certain lagoon of the Kunene River and there he caught his wives as they came up out of the reeds. To this day, it is said, there may be seen in the rocks by that lagoon the imprints of Feti's foot and of the foot of his dog. Feti's wives were Tembo

[1] Op. cit., p. 94 f.
[2] Ferreira Diniz, *Populações indígenas de Angola* (Coimbra, 1918).
[3] Op. cit., p. 156 f.
[4] Op. cit., p. 160.
[5] The story was related by Silva Porto more than once. *Vide* op. cit., p. 167; also *Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 5a Ser., p. 27.

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and Coya and Cīvi.[1] Now Coya's child was ill and she begged Cīvi to help by blowing the breath of life back into him. Cīvi refused because of jealousy: the child died, and ever since then death has clung to us. That, then, is the beginning of Feti. Very soon Feti parted with his son Ngola who went to Luanda to rule; while another child of his, Viye, went to found the kingdom of Viye.[2] When Feti died he left his place to his son Ndumba-Visoso with his wife Katia. Ndumba-Visoso underwent circumcision, since when all Ngalangi kings have submitted to the rite. They founded first one village and then another, and they were hunters, shooting roan antelopes and elephants, for at that time there were many animals in the land. At the instigation of Ngalangi, the younger brother of Ndumba-Visoso, they attacked and drove out the 'va Ngangela', who then occupied what is now the *ombala* (capital or king's residence) of Ngalangi. Taking it for their own, they brought their loads of food: beans, emmer wheat, kaffir-corn, mandioc, and maize;[3] and where they rested their loads the load sticks took root and became the sycamore figs which to this day encircle the capital village. After that the wives of Feti departed: Tembo married in Humbi (or according to another account, in Cilengi or Kalukembe); Coya in Ndulu; and Cīvi in Ngalangi.[4] There follows an account of an attack on the village by the 'va Ngangela' while the men were away in another country. With only the women at home Katia saved the day with a powerful

[1] The name Feti, it is said, comes from the word *fetika* (the verb *oku fetika*, to begin); while Coya is traced to *oya* (the verb *oku oya*, to finish). Thus it is said, *Feti wa fetika, Coya woyapo* (Feti began, Coya finished).

[2] This tradition connecting Ngalangi, Viye, and Ngola (Ndongo) is interesting and perhaps contains elements of truth, whether from tribal recollections or other sources, but it cannot be reconciled with the strictly historical facts since the kingdom of Ngola (Ndongo) was founded before 1550, and when Paulo Diaz de Novaes first came in 1560 he found that Ngola-Mbandi had inherited the kingdom from his father Ngola-Njinga the previous year. The country then came to be called A-Ngola. (See summary in the Introduction to Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*.) As I have shown, Viye was founded about two hundred years later.

[3] The order is that of the Ngalangi narrator and is probably a recognition of the more recent importation of the last two named. On another occasion he said that his grandmother had told him that in the olden days when people always carried some seed about in pouches on their persons for fear of sudden raids, maize was not known and emmer wheat was the staple food.

[4] This further attempt to establish connexion with neighbouring tribes is significant. The Humbi and the Cilengi belong to the 'Bangala' group of people, while the Kalukembe are Ovimbundu, but seemingly more nearly related to these 'Bangala' than are the other Ovimbundu.

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173 167 charm which caused the bullets of the enemy to fall to the ground immediately upon leaving the muzzles of their muskets, so that they did no harm, whereupon the women went out and beheaded the enemy with their hoes.[1] When Katia died her husband sent to his brother Ngola to have a figure of her made. Soon after Ndumba-Visoso died and left his place to his sons, first Mulunda and then Kambuenge.

I have given this Ngalangi tradition at length because of its inherent interest and because of the attempts which it makes to show a relationship between the peoples.

The tradition of Wambu is that the first king, Wambu-Kalunga, came from the north from Sela, which is just to the north-west of Bailundu. He came with his cross-cousins Cihamba, Katutu, and Sunguandumbo.[2] The Nganda[3] were then living in Wambu. Wambu-Kalunga was a great warrior and raider. He had a special penchant for human flesh and would catch and eat the children left in the village when their parents went to their fields. He would also dig up and eat recently buried corpses. The elders were greatly disturbed over this custom and sought to kill King Wambu-Kalunga. They managed to get a live man into a rock tomb who speared Wambu-Kalunga when he came at night to get the supposed corpse. His capital was at the rocks of Nganda-la-Kawe (near the present town and railway station at Caála), and to this day his tomb is shown.

Ciyaka tradition names as the founder of its royal family, Cihamba, son or cousin of Wambu-Kalunga. Cihamba was a great hunter and brought back so much game that Wambu-Kalunga gave him one of his concubines and permission to seek a kingdom for himself. His younger brother Katutu accompanied him and each built his village in the mountainous country of Ciyaka, where at that time the Ndombe[4] people were living with their chief Siku. Katutu's village was raided by a party from Wambu. Cihamba

[1] The appearance of fire-arms so early in the tradition is interesting, but not surprising, as we shall see when we examine historical accounts.

[2] Another account makes Cihamba and Katutu sons of Wambu-Kalunga, while Sunguandumbo (or Songombanda) is their cross-cousin (*epalume*).

[3] The Nganda belong to the 'Bangala' group and now live just west of the Umbundu country.

[4] The Ndombe are also one of the 'Bangala' people. They are now confined to the Benguela coast-lands, where some of them were already living when the Portuguese first came about 1580. (See *Benguella e seu sertão*, p. 18 f.; *Andrew Battell*, pp. 16 ff.)

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167 173 came with his five famous hunting dogs and with their aid caught up with the raiders and finished them off. After the battle he collected five baskets of heads and set off for Wambu to present them and find out whether Wambu-Kalunga had sent the raiders. When the bereaved relatives recognized the heads, Wambu-Kalunga had to admit having sent the raid.[1] He also admitted the uncanny ability of Cihamba, to whom he now gave a new name, saying, 'Henceforth, you are Cilūlū (Ghost), because your anger is altogether too great.' He also gave him the royal insignia[2] for which he should build a spirit-hut (*etambo*) and sent him away to rule, saying, 'From now on you are the war-leader of Wambu.'

Then Cilūlū and Katutu returned to Ciyaka and to their hunting. One day when Cilūlū returned from a hunt (on which he had gone without his dogs), only four dogs came out to meet him: Ndumbu was missing. When he found that his own sons had eaten the favourite dog which had hunted and fought for him, his sorrow and anger knew no bounds: his heart was black. Straightway he sent for his brother Katutu and insisted that he take the royal insignia and rule in his stead. 'I, Cilūlū,' he said, 'am Cihamba; from to-day I shall beget no more sons to be kings; to-day I have cursed them and none of them shall rule any more.[3] To-day, oh Katutu, build the spirit-hut, the kitchen, and the chief's hut.'[4]

Later Katutu built the *ombala* of Kawa,[5] and Cihamba came to live with him. One day the queen was gathering firewood on a mountain and found a much better mountain-top site, then

[1] Wambu-Kalunga's alleged reason for having sent the raid was that Cihamba had impregnated the concubine given to him, whereas the intention was that relations should have been those of the trial-marriage in which partners occupy the same bed but explicitly avoid conception.

[2] i.e. the small mat, the double-headed ceremonial axe, the bell, and the chalk (to mark the face in ceremony and ritual).

[3] One reason for this particular phase of the tradition was perhaps to explain why the king's brother often inherits rather than a son. There is an Elende tradition designed to explain why the royal succession is in the paternal line rather than in the maternal, as is the case with inheritance among commoners, and also with the royal families of the related people to the south.

[4] *Etambo, ociwo, eyemba*, the three royal buildings. A commoner may have a spirit-hut (*etambo*), he may have a kitchen (*ociwo*) for each of his wives, but a house of his own he may not have, only a house for each wife.

[5] This appears in the old Portuguese records as *Quiaca a velha* (see Report of Governor of Benguela for 1799 in *Annaes Mar. e Col.*, 1844, p. 154).

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167 173 occupied by Siku of the Ndombe people, which site Katutu soon appropriated. This is the present site[1] of the Ciyaka capital.

[115] While reworking some of the material in this paper I had the good fortune to receive help from a member of the royal family of Ciyaka[2] who has more precise data on the succession of that kingdom than I had supposed it possible now to obtain. He not only completed and corrected my list of the kings of Ciyaka, but he also supplied the actual dates for all of them since 1842.[3] Their number would seem to impute to the Ciyaka kingdom a longer history than I have been able to verify for any of the other Umbundu kingdoms, but the absence of historical data from European sources makes confirmation impossible. It would seem, however, that the beginning of the Ciyaka dynasty must date from not later than the first half of the seventeenth century.

Some of the other Umbundu-speaking groups are of considerable importance and interest, but unfortunately there is neither time nor space to give to their origins attention equal to that given to those treated above. The Sambu kingdom has long specialized in the training of medical practitioners and witch-doctors. The tradition is that it was founded by a woman who seems to have come either from Bailundu or from the stock whence came the Bailundu royal family at an even earlier date. From the family of Wambu-Kalunga, in addition to Ciyaka, came those who set up the kingdoms of Elende, which had a woman ruler early in its history; of Cingolo; of Ekekete; and of Cikuma (also called Citata), in whose lands the fort of Caconda a Nova was built in 1769. It was probably after this that the capital of Citata moved across the Katumbela (*Catombela*) River to its present site. Kakonda, the founder of the kingdom generally known by that name, was of Luanda stock but born in Ngalangi,[4] whence he was sold as a slave to Benguela. He ran away with his wife Cilombo[5] and settled in the region near the (present) site of Caconda (a Nova). Kakonda and Cilombo probably settled there only a very short time before the building of the fort, for most of Kakonda's fifteen successors

[1] Called *Quiaca a nova* in the old Portuguese records (see loc. cit.).

[2] Lauriano M. Bahu Ciyaka, a graduate of Currie Institute, teacher of the village of Canja.

[3] *Vide* chronological chart, p. 224 f. *infra*.

[4] It is likely that his ascendants were *pombeiros* (traders) from Luanda and had settled in Ngalangi.

[5] After her, the kingdom was called Cilombo-coñoma (Camp of the Drum).

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had Portuguese names, and tradition speaks of a great accession of mulatto stock, which also is confirmed by observation.

The Umbundu-speaking border groups are interesting. Ngamba was formerly occupied by the Songo and has been peopled by Ovimbundu coming from near the capital of Viye only within the past forty years. Cengi, Sanga, Namba, and Kasongi on the northern flank of Bailundu have probably all only recently become Umbundu-speaking groups. Kasongi is one of the largest groups which paid tribute to Bailundu, and has had a line of Umbundu-speaking kings for more than a hundred years; but judging from genealogical evidence the bulk of the people have not been Ovimbundu that long. Civula is another large group and its uncertain feudal status has been noted. Perhaps the most interesting of the border groups, at least from a linguistic standpoint, is Kalukembe. The royal house seems to have come from Ciyaka and it has been claimed that in Kalukembe the kingship is inherited by the mother's brother's son. This is not supported by the only local traditional history which I have been able to secure and requires further investigation. At any rate it is through the maternal line that the commoners of all the Umbundu-speaking groups inherit, and it is noteworthy that this is also true of the kingship among the 'Bangala' and the Ambo tribes.[1] The 'Bangala' people have clan organizations and are exogamous, so that they may marry in any of the related 'Bangala' groups, and for this purpose they include the Kalukembe but not others of the Ovimbundu.[2] Finally, the variations with which Umbundu is spoken in Kalukembe[3] point to closer connexions with the language-group of the 'Bangala'. There are certain areas which at the present day seem to be undergoing a linguistic 'Umbundu-ization'. This is most evident in the coast towns such as Novo Redondo, Lobito, Catumbela, Benguela,

[1] See Estermann, 'Notas Etnográficas sôbre os povos do Distrito da Huila' in *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, fev. 1935, p. 63; Hahn, *et al.*, *The Native Tribes of South West Africa*, p. 8.

[2] This last item was learned from Mulondo people. The above-cited article deals only with the people of the District of Huila, while 'Bangala' people live also in other adjoining districts.

[3] Compare Umbundu language work of H. Chatelain and others of the 'Mission Philafricaine' in Kalukembe, as versus illustrations of Umbundu used by Johnston, Meinhof, *et al.* Evidently the native 'Mohongo' taken to Paris by Homburger of the Mission Rohan-Chabot, was a native of Kalukembe, for the 'Bailoundou' vocabulary taken from him is of the Kalukembe variation. (See *Mission Rohan-Chabot*, t. III, f. 1.)

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and Mossamedes. The region of Catumbela, and perhaps of Benguela, seems to have been subjected to migrations of Ovimbundu, or of proto-Ovimbundu, between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, and it is probable that some of these groups early established themselves there permanently.[1] At the present time peoples of many tribes make up the population of these towns and of the surrounding regions, but Umbundu is already the dominant speech, and in Lobito and Catumbela almost no other Bantu language is heard. Certain other areas on the fringe of the Umbundu lands now seem to be in process of 'Umbunduization', at least as regards language. This does not seem to have taken place in Musende, in Cipala (Quibala), or in Sela, in spite of the long time during which they owned the king of Bailundu as their overlord. Just now, however, such a process seems to be taking place in Mbuiva (Amboiva), in Cisanji (area of Bocoio), in Nganda, and in Cikomba (Chicomba, south of Caconda).

Some of the neighbouring peoples have traditions of migrations which corroborate the traditions of the Ovimbundu. The Nganda say that they formerly lived in the region of Wambu, around the rocks of Nganda-la-Kawe, and that they moved down-country for two reasons: (1) to escape Wambu-Kalunga and his penchant for eating their children; (2) to be by themselves to practise the rite of circumcision. When they migrated to their present home, the kingdom of Ciyaka, they say, was not yet established.

Traditions of the Herero and Ambo peoples may have bearing on the problem of the migrations of the Ovimbundu. Dr. Vedder concludes from tradition and genealogical evidence that the Herero must have crossed the Kunene 'about the year 1700'.[2] Some of the tribes of Angola with which the Njimba-Herero claim relationship[3] may easily be identified as belonging to the 'Bangala' group, as, for example, the Ovangambue, the Ovangumbi, and the Ovatjerenge, which are plainly the va Ngambue, the va Khumbi (or Nkhumbi), and the va Cilengi, respectively. Other names in the list are very much like some place-names in the Umbundu country.

Traditions of the Songo and Lunda people have already been

[1] According to a Ciyaka tradition. Also see A. Bastos, *Monographia de Catumbella*, pp. 6, 7; L. Cordeiro (ed.), *Benguella e seu sertão*, 1617–22; Ravenstein (ed.), op. cit., p. 19 f.

[2] Hahn *et al.*, op. cit., p. 157.

[3] Loc. cit.

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mentioned. H. A. Dias de Carvalho collected the traditional history of the people of Lunda, which attempted to show that the Imbangala, the Songo, and the Cokue, or rather their reigning families, were descended from the royal house of the Bongo people of Lunda.[1] Through Ilunga, father of the first Muata Yanvo, this author connects these people, or at least all of them except the Imbangala, with the Luba.[2] Torday offers the hypothesis that Ilunga (or Ihunga) may have been a Bushongo prince.[3] I have heard the hypothesis offered that the Songo were in effect an offshoot of the Bushongo people, but it seems that such knowledge as we have of the Songo cannot be said to substantiate this theory. Should these theories prove to accord with the facts, we could claim a long traditional descent for the people of our study in consideration of the careful work done by Torday in tracing the genesis of the Bushongo.[4]

Historical Evidence. Turning from tribal traditions to the solid ground of historical evidence, regarding the migrations in question, it is immediately evident that there is no lack of witnesses. The regions with which we are dealing have been known to Europe since 1482, when the expedition under Diogo Cão first sailed up the Congo River and sent ambassadors representing King John II of Portugal to the king of Kongo. Diogo Cão returned in 1485–6, and then in 1491 there came a great expedition with a specially appointed embassy and a mission of ten Franciscan friars.[5] From this time on the Kongo was not without European observers. The earliest record which we have of native migrations in what is now Angola was the invasion of the kingdom of Kongo in 1568,[6] when it was overrun by hordes of terrible 'Jagas',[7] from the east. The reigning king, Dom Alvaro I (Nenemi-a-lukeni-luambemba), and his forces were so utterly routed that his only resource was to

[1] Dias de Carvalho, op. cit., p. 76 f.

[2] Op. cit., p. 65.

[3] E. Torday, *On the Trail of the Bushongo*, pp. 170, 281.

[4] Ibid., chap. xiii.

[5] See João de Barros, *Decadas* I, liv. 3; Ruy de Pina, *Chronica*, p. 174 f.; Garcia de Resende, *Chronica*, pp. 155 ff.; Fr. Luiz de Sousa, *História de S. Domingos*, pt. ii, liv. vi, c. 8.

[6] There has been considerable disagreement over this date, which has been variously reported as 1558, 1568, and 1570; 1568 seems the most likely date, see Ravenstein (ed.), *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell*, p. 119 f.

[7] There are many spellings of this name, according to the language, or even the caprice, of the observer. The commoner forms are: Jagas, Jakas, Iagges, Giaghi, Giaki, and Ayaka. This last is probably the more nearly correct.

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take refuge on an island in the lower Congo and send to Lisbon begging aid. In 1570 Dom Sebastião sent out Francisco de Gouveia with six hundred men who, after a year and a half of fighting, expelled the barbarian hordes and reinstated Dom Alvaro in possession of his kingdom, but as a vassal of the king of Portugal.[1] Warriors called 'Jagas' are next mentioned in 1590 as allies of the armies of Ndongo (Ngola) and Matamba, helping to defeat the Portuguese and their native allies under Luiz Serrão at 'Anguolome-aquitambo'.[2] Migrating hordes called 'Jagas' are next mentioned as having been met (about 1620–1)[3] by Andrew Battell, when on a trading expedition on behalf of the Governor of Angola, at Benguela Velha.[4] I quote Battell's own description of this encounter:

In our second voyage, turning up along the coast, we came to the Morro, or cliff of Benguele, which standeth in twelve degrees of southerly latitude. Here we saw a mighty camp on the south side of the river Cova.[5] And being desirous to know what they were, we went on shore with our boat; and presently there came a troop of five hundred men to the waterside. We asked them who they were. Then they told us they were the Gagas, or Gindes, that came from Sierra de lion,[6] and passed through the city of Congo, and so travelled to the eastward of the great city of Angola, which is called Dongo.[7] The great Gaga, which is their general, came down to the waterside to see us, for he had never seen white men before. He asked wherefore we came. We told him that we came to trade upon the coast. Then he bade us welcome, and called us on shore with our commodities. We laded our ship with slaves in seven days, and bought them so cheap that many did not cost one real, which were worth in the city (of Loanda) twelve milreis.

[In a marginal note Purchas adds: 'He, in discourse with me, called them Iagges, and their chief the great Iagge. I think he writ them Gagas for Giagas, by false spelling.']

[1] Domingos d'Abreu de Brito (1592), quoted by Paiva Manso, *História do Kongo*, p. 138; J. J. Lopes de Lima, in *Annaes Mar. e Col.*, 1845, pp. 93 ff.; Cavazzi, *Descrizione de' Tre Regni*, pp. 183 ff.; Ravenstein, op. cit., p. 119 f.; A. de Lemos, *História de Angola*, p. 98; Duarte Lopes, *A Report of the Kingdom of Kongo*, pp. 96 ff.

[2] Ravenstein, op. cit., p. 148.

[3] Ravenstein, op. cit., p. xiv. Andrew Battell was one of Purchas's Pilgrims.

[4] Now called 'Porto Amboim'.

[5] i.e. the Keve, which generally appears on maps as the 'Cuvo'.

[6] This does not necessarily mean the region of Sierra Leone. There are many places called Lion Mountain in Africa.

[7] Ndongo is the name of the kingdom of Ngola (Angola). Its capital was at Pungu-a-Ndongo, a remarkable group of rocks.

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Being ready to depart, the great Giaga staid us, and desired our boat to pass his men over the river Cova, for he determined to overrun the realm of Benguele, which was on the north side of the river Cova. So we went with him to his camp, which was very orderly, intrenched with piles of wood; we had houses provided for us that night, and many burthens (loads) of palm-wine, cows, goats, and flour.

In the morning before day, the general did strike his *gongo*, which is an instrument of war that soundeth like a bell, and presently made an oration with a loud voice, that all the camp might hear, that he would destroy the Benguelas, with such courageous and vehement speeches as were not to be looked for among the heathen people. And presently they were all in arms, and marched to the river side, where he had provided Gingados.[1] And being ready with our boat and Gingados, the general was fain to beat them back because of the credit who should be first. We carried over eighty men at once, and with our muskets we beat the enemy off, and landed, but many of them were slain. By twelve of the clock all the Gagas were over.

Then the general commanded all his drums, *tavales*, *petes*, *pongos*, and all his instruments of warlike music to strike up, and gave the onset, which was a bloody day for the Benguelas. These Benguelas presently broke, and turned their backs, and a very great number of them were slain, and were taken captives, man, woman and child. The prince, Hombiangymbe, was slain, which was ruler of this country, and more than one hundred of his chief lords, and their heads presented and thrown at the feet of the great Gaga. The men, women and children that were brought in captive alive, and the dead corpses that were brought to be eaten, were strange to behold. For these Gagas are the greatest cannibals and man-eaters that be in the world, for they feed chiefly upon man's flesh (notwithstanding of their) having all the cattle of that country.

They settled themselves in this country and took the spoil of it. We had great trade with these Gagas, five months, and gained greatly by them. . . .

In these five months' space we made three voyages to the city of San Paul, and coming the fourth time we found them not.[2]

On a subsequent voyage Battell was left by 'the Portugals and Mulattos' as a hostage among the 'Benguelas', whence he escaped to 'the Great Gaga', living in his camp and helping to fight his battles during twenty-one months. His description of the life and customs of which he was a daily witness are of great interest, and

[1] 'Gingado', elsewhere spelt 'Iergado', is evidently a misprint for *Jangada*, Portuguese for 'raft'.

[2] Ravenstein, op. cit., pp. 19 ff.

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seem to bear the stamp of truth in contrast to the evident fabrications of some and the well-meaning confusion of others.

'Jagas' are next reported during the conquest of Benguela[1] in 1617–22 by Manuel Cerveira Pereira. The second and fifth of the five battles described in a contemporary document[2] were with 'Jagas', the latter of which had been an ally of the Portuguese for a time. About this time 'Jagas' were also commonly reported as allies of the Portuguese forces in the conquest of Ndongo and Matamba. References to this state of affairs could be given from many sources, but more significant is the testimony of an eye-witness, one of the conquistadores, who, in a petition to King Philip, dated 16 January 1620, inserted the following:

> that the *Jagas* who aid us and are ferocious, who are with us, who are of great effect to overawe the heathen that they may not rise, that Your Majesty should make them a favour of wine, for they desire nothing else, to send them three hogsheads a year at the three principal feasts, for it is necessary to have them for friends, and the said *jagas*, Your Majesty ordering to give them this, they will always give in slaves[3] the value and much more.[4]

Another of the conquistadores also wrote:

> The Iacas are stranger folk and who live by robbery and war.
>
> This people came many years ago to these kingdoms and have overrun all the hinterland even to Mozambique. . . .
>
> From them came some to our protection and service, fleeing from their captains. . . .
>
> These people themselves are cruel and great thieves, and were more so after we made use of them: they go about robbing unjustly [*sic*] and captivating the miserable heathen; but, however, the fault is not of the *iaca*, but rather of the governors and captains who command them, and so they should be kept for friends and used well, during the necessary time.[5]

Other contemporary writers could be cited,[6] but enough evidence

[1] The present city of Benguela and its surroundings.

[2] L. Cordeiro (ed.), 1617–22, *Benguella e seu sertão por um Anonymo*, pp. 10, 13; J. J. Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*, pt. ii, pp. 30 ff.

[3] Lit. 'pieces', a somewhat deprecatory euphemism used in the old Portuguese works.

[4] L. Cordeiro (ed.), 1574–1620, *Da Mina ao Cabo Negro segundo Garcia Mendes Castello Branco*, p. 16 f.

[5] L. Cordeiro (ed.), 1593–1631, *Terras e minas africanas segundo Balthazar Rebello de Aragão*, p. 16 f.

[6] Compare Cavazzi, op. cit., pp. 630 ff.; Duarte Lopes, op. cit., p. 156 f.; Dapper; *Description de l'Afrique*, p. 357 f.

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has been cited to prove conclusively that the 'Jagas' were not one horde but many, and that they multiplied by splitting into other and smaller groups as they went from pillage to pillage. Battell recounts that they killed their own offspring,[1] and this is further attested by other contemporary writers.[2] They ensured their increase by taking the young of their enemies who, as Purchas noted, were trained up as a sort of Janisaries. Battell said that of 16,000 in the camp 'there were but twelve natural Gagas that were their captains, and fourteen or fifteen women'.[3] Purchas added to the first edition of *Purchas, His Pilgrimage* (1613) a note which is helpful in determining, if not their ultimate, at least their proximate, origin, and also their final place of settling. He wrote:

> He (i.e., Battell) saith they are called Iagges by the Portugals, by themselves Imbangolas . . . and come from Sierra Liona. . . .
>
> Elembe, the great Iagge, brought with him twelve thousand of these cruel monsters from Sierra Liona, and after much mischief and spoil settled himself in Benguele, twelve degrees from the Zone southwards, and there breedeth and groweth into a nation. But Kelandula, sometime his page, proceeds in that beastly life before mentioned, and the people of Elembe, by great troops, run to him and follow his camp in hope of spoil.[4]

According to this, we may take it that the designation of Iagges, Jaga, Jaka, or Ayaka came from the Portuguese, which means that it came from one or more of the Bantu languages—that it was originally a description given to these hordes or to their leaders by the African people whom they fought and conquered, or even by the African traders[5] who went to the 'Jaga' camps to buy slaves in exchange for cloth, beads, rum, and muskets. The word evidently comes from the verb to fight, *oku yaka*; they fight, *a yaka*,[6] or *va yaka*. Father Van Wing[7] and Emil Torday[8] both hold that there is some real relationship between the tribe of the Bayaka of the middle Kuango and the 'Jaga' hordes, and make that

[1] Ravenstein, op. cit., pp. 32, 84 f. Could this have been an (extreme) instance of the well-known fear of menstrual-blood found among many people, including the Ovimbundu?

[2] Ravenstein, op. cit., p. 32, note 4.

[3] Ravenstein, op. cit., p. 33.

[4] Ravenstein, op. cit., pp. 84, 85.

[5] *Pombeiros descalços*, barefoot traders.

[6] The Portuguese transcription of this form is *a iaca*, or *a iacca*, with the hard *c* mistakenly changed to *g*, and *i* taken for *j* as was formerly often done.

[7] Van Wing, op. cit., p. 106.

[8] Torday, op. cit., see map facing p. 282.

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the origin of this tribal name. It is no less reasonable to suppose that the name has also been preserved in the name of a section of the Ovimbundu—the va Ciyaka,[1] which is an augmentative noun from the same verbal stem.

'He saith they are called . . . by themselves Imbangolas.' This statement has given rise to a great deal of speculation from the time of Purchas to our own. The *Imbangala*, better known as 'the people of Jaga Cassange' or Bangalas, are generally recognized to have been one of the marauding hordes which troubled Angola in the seventeenth century, and it has already been noted that their own traditional history, as given by Dias de Carvalho and by Ferreira Diniz, fits in with this theory. It seems reasonable, therefore, to make this further identification of the 'Jagas' of Battell with the Imbangala of Cassange. There is one more traditional link to add, and that is that the Ovimbundu of Ciyaka recognize the region of Cassange as the location of the oldest ancestral tombs of which they have any tradition. Once when there was a particularly severe drought, tribal elders were sent from Ciyaka to Cassange to worship at these ancient tombs, to anoint the skulls, and to plead for rain.

When Purchas noted in 1613 that 'Elembe settled himself in Benguele', he meant the hinterland of Benguela Velha,[2] i.e. in the regions of Mbũi (*Amboim*), Cipala (*Quibala*), or Sela (*Cela*). As I have shown, tradition connects the kingdom of Wambu with Sela, and the kingdom of Bailundu with Cipala. Although 'Kelandula, sometime his page, proceeds in that beastly life before mentioned'. we may be reasonably sure that eventually he also, or his followers, settled in the same general region. Both Elembe and Kalandula are common Umbundu names and the latter is found twice among the kings of Bailundu.

There is further evidence in the similarity of customs as between the 'Jagas' and the royal families of the Ovimbundu, for both Battell and Cavazzi have given fairly full accounts. To show these similarities fully it would be necessary to re-edit Battell, and therefore I shall speak of only a few outstanding points. The cannibalism of the 'Jagas' was perhaps their most striking custom.

[1] The Portuguese transcription of this form would be 'Giaca', but this has become changed to 'Quiaca', as also with many similar names.

[2] See p. 122, n. 4 *supra*. It was only in 1617 that the settlement on the *Baia das Vaccas* was made, and (wrongly) given the name of Benguela.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

which the 'Jagas' had, although they soon adopted the language of the people whom they conquered. As recently as fifty years ago the mother of the king of Bailundu spoke Umbundu brokenly, since she came from Cipala, and her sons were sent to complete their education with her people where later they were often called to rule.[1]

Recognition by the Ciyaka people that their forefathers came from the region where the Imbangala now live has been noted. It may have been a similar tradition heard in Viye which started Magyar to find out the tradition of 'Kinguri'. Such a tradition was mentioned in Viye as late as 1898.[2] This relation between the Umbundu ruling families and either the 'Jagas' or the Imbangala has been noted by several of the Portuguese writers. Lopes de Lima, in his History of the Discovery of the Congo, adds a footnote on the 'Jagas' as follows: 'The Jagas are almost nomadic peoples . . . coming from the interior of Africa, . . . there are some on the frontiers of the Congo, Angola, and Benguella, where some have fixed their habitations (as those of Cassange, and Bailundo).'[3] Writing in 1797 a certain Col. Pinheiro de Lacerda said of the inhabitants of Ngalangi, Kakonda, Wambu, Bailundu, &c.: 'These are they of the uplands, who are divided into two groups, those of one are called "Quinbundos",[4] (these do not eat human flesh); the others are called "Quimbangalas", who eat it, and when they make their sacrifice, which all attend, all eat the "Macongo".'[5] At that period the diversity of these two component parts of the Ovimbundu people was so apparent that they were even spoken of as separate and distinct peoples.

Place-names. Before leaving the subject of migratory movements a word should be said on the evidence of place-names. There is nothing to prove, except in a few instances where traditions have been collected, that the recurrence of identical or similar names at different places indicates the actual lines of migration followed by the several tribal groups represented. It may be said, however, that this line of evidence, taken together

[1] See *Missionary Herald*, 1888, p. 70.
[2] *Missionary Herald*, 1898, p. 108.
[3] *Annaes Mar. Col.*, 1845, p. 93.
[4] Taken from the singular form *ocimbundu*. As already explained, the change of *chi* to *qui* is a commonly met mutilation of the Bantu forms.
[5] *Annaes Mar. Col.*, 1845, p. 488. There follows a circumstantial account of the ceremony of *Oku lia Ekongo*, to which reference has already been made.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

with that which has already been reviewed, might make it possible to determine the demography of the Benguela Highland prior to the formation of the Umbundu kingdoms. It is also further evidence as to the demographic make-up of the Ovimbundu. Some of these recurring place-names evidently represent elements which now constitute separate entities outside the Umbundu kingdoms, although they probably made contributions to the formation of those kingdoms. Others represent elements which probably moved away from the earlier invasions from the north but stayed in their new sites to amalgamate with later arrivals. Some may represent successive splittings-off from a stock which thus settled at various places. Many recurrent place-names could be shown both in this region and outside the language-grouping.

Attitudes toward Other Tribes. Attitudes of the Ovimbundu towards the various neighbouring tribes are instructive. Mention has already been made of the attitude of the southern 'Bangala' people in their inclusion of the Ovimbundu of Kalukembe within their own system of exogamy. The Ovimbundu recognize a common humanity with the peoples who are their neighbours both on the south and on the north. They are all *omanu*,[1] people, or even *vakuetu*, comrades. Similar recognition is not extended to the eastern and south-eastern neighbours who are lumped together under the derogatory term of 'va Ngangela' or *ovinganngela*.[2] This eastern region as far as the Great Lakes was the happy hunting-ground of the slave-traders from Viye and from Bailundu. There is a term *olongoya* which is applied to the northern neighbours, but without the derogatory connotation of 'Ngangela'. *Olongoya* has a linguistic connotation as did *barbaroi* in the Greek, and refers to the fact that these neighbours speak what is to the Ovimbundu an unintelligible language. How much of rationalization there may be in these attitudes and prejudices one cannot say, but it seems that in them there is some recognition of tribal origins and relationships, of the fact that across the Benguela Highland migrations have swept from north to south.

Conclusion. In consideration of the above evidence, it is now possible to draw conclusions concerning the origin of the Ovi-

[1] *Omanu* is the Umbundu equivalent for the Nguni *abantu*, which has come to be applied to the whole language family.

[2] This Umbundu attitude is best illustrated by the proverb 'As a grass hut is not a house, so an *ocingangela* (singular) is not a person (*omanu*).'

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

mbundu. They are the result of a fusion of diverse stocks, chiefly of the Southern Bantu and of the Congo or Central Bantu peoples. The ruling families probably were Lunda emigrants for the most part,[1] at least in their origin. It was probably during the seventeenth century that these people entered the Benguela Highland and began to found their respective dynasties. The people whom they encountered in these lands were mostly of Southern Bantu stock, with some 'Ngangela' people in Ndulu, Viye, and Ngalangi. The upper strata of these local populations seem to have moved on with their cattle to join related stocks in the border regions, while the masses seem to have stayed behind to form the nucleus of the Ovimbundu. Especially does this appear to have been the case with the original Southern Bantu stock, for many who were cattle-owners seem to have fled to the drier and more suitable lands in the south and west, while those who stayed must have lost to the invaders such cattle as they had. Only in the south-west (especially Kalukembe) was the Southern Bantu influence of sufficient strength to preserve any semblance of the cattle-culture complex, together with a recognition of kinship from their southern neighbours. Everywhere, it seems, the Southern Bantu nucleus was of sufficient strength to exert a dominant linguistic influence. It is certainly noteworthy that over the whole region a single language has developed with only small dialectic differences[2]—and that without benefit of political union. Commercial intercourse has probably largely supplied the place of the latter.

Historical Development

Dominant Tendency. The origins of the principal groups of the Ovimbundu have been traced in outline from both native and European sources. It now remains to sketch the main lines of

[1] But Viye and Ngalangi traditions *in re* the origin of their ruling families must be borne in mind—traditions also supported by other evidence.

[2] Retention of peculiarities of the parent stock by Kalukembe has been noted. There are certain noticeable differences as between 'up-country' and 'down-country'—roughly divided by the Keve and Kunene Rivers. Each of the outlying regions has its own peculiarities due to local foreign influences. In Kasongi, in Ngalangi, and in Viye these are quite noticeable but can hardly be called separate dialects. Regions of older European occupation—Kakonda and Viye—have taken more from the Portuguese. In consideration of these facts and the further fact that the Viye racial stock had a larger 'Ngangela' element than had other regions, the recent linguistic influence of Viye has been out of all proportion to reality and may be explained by the relatively larger number of missions and missionaries working in that region.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

geographic position in the centre of the colony has also made it harder for them to evade it. Nevertheless, many have emigrated. In 1941 and again in 1944, when the writer visited South Africa, he found thousands of Ovimbundu on the Rand and many more in the Rhodesias and the Congo. Many are also known to have gone to the South-West Territory and to Bechuanaland, and some even to such distant points as Natal's north coast and French Equatorial Africa.[1]

Recent Developments

Currency, in the sense of money, is quite a recent introduction to the Ovimbundu. To the end of their trading activities, cloth ('trade goods') was the standard of exchange. Although dependence upon world markets caused prices to fluctuate with the course of the rubber trade, as we have seen, there was not, however, the great range which follows the fluctuations of the money market through a course of inflation and deflation. The Ovimbundu had had some dealings in money before the time of World War I, when there was a silver coinage, so that the depreciation which set in about 1921 was all the more confusing to them. This is not the place to discuss the finances and banking of Angola, but it must be noted that the conversion of the 'Escudo' into the 'Angolar' in 1928 at the rate of Ag. 0,80 to Esc. 1 $00 greatly increased the sense of confusion among the natives. This was only to be expected when the native tax remained at Ag. 80,00 where it was Esc. 80,00 before, whereas daily wages to contract labourers became Ag. 0,80 where before they were Esc. 1 $00. The confusion was considerable.[2]

Taxes began to be levied soon after military occupation, but for some years they were very small, especially in relation to opportunities for earning. When the head-tax reached Esc. 80,00 it remained at that figure for some years. In 1935 a 'work tax' and

[1] This state of affairs is frequently and quite freely commented upon in the Angola papers. For a recent notice see local correspondence entitled 'Notícias do Cuma' in the *Voz do Planalto* (Nova Lisboa) for 17 Aug. 1946. One of the most serious recent indictments is contained in an article in *O Farolim*, Luanda, 5 Nov. 1945, by Padre J. Alves Correia. This distinguished writer asserts that the present labour policy is 'killing the goose which lays the golden egg'.

[2] For finance, currency, banking, and economic conditions in general, see Department of Overseas Trade, *Economic Conditions in Angola*, H.M.S.O., 1929. There are also reports for 1923 and 1925, but the one for 1929 covers the previous decade.

The two largest rivers flowing from the Highland are the Kwanza and the Kunene, both of which flow into the Atlantic Ocean. Between them are the Keve, the Balombo and the Katumbela. The Kubango rises near the source of the Kunene and flows southwards towards the Kalahari Desert. 133

SOILS AND VEGETATION

The foundation of the plateau is a vast slab of primeval crystalline rock, which frequently outcrops in the form of isolated rocks or of massive peaks. Some of these outcrops remain bare, while others are hidden by laterite and soil formed by rock decomposition. Sediments overlying the rocks include unfossiliferous sandstones and conglomerates, considered to be of Palaeozoic age. Much of the soil is poor, in many areas impoverished by use and by erosion; there are however a few alluvial deposits, and on the whole the soil is of better quality than in the adjoining regions to the east, north and south. 134 133

Differences in vegetation between the Highland and the lower zone towards the coast are striking. Characteristic feature of the coastal area is the baobab *(Adansonia digitata)* and in the better-watered areas tropical forests occur. The Highland proper was until recently well-covered with a variety of trees; today, however, except in isolated areas in Bailundu and other regions, grasslands have taken the place of forest and woodland. Native methods of agriculture and annual fires have caused much deforestation, and this has been accentuated by the demands of European settlement and of the Railway, which up to the present time uses principally wood for fuel. 137

CLIMATE

The Highland is well within the Tropical Zone, but altitude and the effect of the south-western Antarctic current combine to produce a moderate climate. The annual variation of temperature is relatively slight; a day's maximum is seldom above 90°F, and may be as low as 60°, but the usual maximum is around 80°. The minimum of 32° or even 30° is sometimes reached in the winter (about May 20th - July 20th), but more usually the minimum is 40° to 50° in the winter, and 50° to 55° for the rest of the year. There is considerably daily variation, especially in the winter, when differences of 42° are often registered. 132

Mean annual rainfall varies from 40 to 60 inches, according to region. In the Highland the rains begin with a few showers during September, increase during October and November, have a break of two to four weeks in December, January or February, and continue until the end of April. The heaviest falls are usually in November and December, occasionally in March.

TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN AND HISTORY(1)

The Ovimbundu people represent a fusion of diverse stocks, chiefly of the Southern Bantu and of the Congo or Central Bantu peoples. The ruling 174 167

(1) This section is a summary of the detailed account given by Childs 1949, pp. 164-231.

families, probably for the most part of Lunda origin, entered the Benguella Highlands during the seventeenth century and began to found their respective kingdoms. The tribes whom they encountered appear to have belonged to the cattle-keeping Ndombe-Nganda or to the Nganguela group.(1) Childs suggests that the upper strata of these local populations must have moved on southwards with their cattle to join related stocks in the border regions, while the masses stayed behind to form the nucleus of the Ovimbundu. The cultural influence of these early inhabitants on the Ovimbundu seems to have been slight, except in the south-west, particularly in Kalukembe, where a semblance of the cattle-culture complex remains, together with a recognition of kinship ties with southern neighbours (see below). The linguistic influence of the Southern Bantu (Ndombe-Nganda) group in the south and west has however been considerable. It is noteworthy that over the whole Ovimbundu region a single language has developed with only small dialectal differences, and that although commercial contact has assisted this development, it has not been fostered by political union between the various segments of the Ovimbundu.

TRADITIONS

Each of the principal groups listed above (page 2) has separate legends of origin. Usually these traditions refer to the birthplace and adventures of the ancestors of the chiefly families, and only mention the indigenous inhabitants. Childs has made a careful and lucid summary of the traditions of the various groups;(2) these are therefore only very briefly outlined below.

Ndulu. There is evidence that Ndulu may be one of the oldest Ovimbundu kingdoms. The progenitor of the ruling dynasty is said to have come from the region near the confluence of the Kwanza and Lumbo rivers, and to have conquered and expelled the Luimbe, who live today to the east of Ndulu. This migration may have been a result of the prolonged wars between the Portuguese and the Kingdom of Angola,(3) which ended in 1671.

Bailundu. The Bailundu dynasty is said to have its origin in Cipala, a region which remained subject to Bailundu until the end of the nineteenth century, and from which, according to tradition, the king's principal wife comes. Childs estimates the date of the foundation of the dynasty at not earlier than about 1700. The Sumbu ruling family is said to descend either from a woman of Bailundu stock or from common stock with the Bailundu.

Viye. Versions of the Viye legend are recorded by Tucker,(4) Serpa Pinto,(5) Silva Porto,(6) and Magyar,(7) and these do not all agree. According to the most widely-known version today, Viye, an elephant-hunter of the Humbi people, tracking game down the Kwanza valley, met and married a princess of the Songo people; their son, Ulundu, founded the Viye chiefdom. From documentary evidence Childs estimates that this must have been in about 1750. This version also suggests that the original inhabitants were of the Nganguela group of tribes.

(1) See above, p.3.
(2) Op.cit., pp.170-81.
(3) To the north of the present Ovimbundu country.
(4) 1927, pp.34f.
(5) 1881, vol.I, pp.156f.
(6) 1942, pp.165-71.
(7) 1859, pp.264f.

II. GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS

121 This chapter is intended to give an outline of the geographical conditions of Angola and to point out the way in which these have influenced the growth of Umbundu culture in all its aspects.

A presentation of geographical data is of primary importance here, and the actual relationship between the facts of geography and culture is a matter for gradual evaluation in the following chapters. The extent to which geographic determinism has entered into the cultural growth of the Ovimbundu is particularly well seen in chapter V, "Economic Life," which deals with industries, agriculture, domestic animals, fishing, and transport.

The area of Angola is a factor of importance, for the greater the extent of any country the more diversified will be the products and the cultural differences. This is particularly true if there are considerable differences in the elevation, because altitude modifies temperature and affects the distribution of rainfall.

131 Angola has an area of almost 500,000 square miles. The greatest length is a distance of about 900 miles from the river Congo in the north to the region of South West Africa. The greatest breadth is about 700 miles from the Atlantic Ocean on the west to the borders of the Rhodesian plateau in the east. This range over twelve degrees of latitude, from 5° S. to 17° S., in association with differences in altitude, have produced ecological regions which are described in the following paragraphs.

132 311 167 The northern part of Angola is ecologically a part of the Congo basin, with conditions of heat and moisture giving rise to a dense tropical flora. Owing to the presence of tsetse fly, the great heat, and the lack of open grasslands, such country is unsuited for the rearing of cattle, while agriculture, including cultivation of maize, is restricted to forest clearings. Manioc, palm trees, peanuts, and sweet potatoes are the chief products serviceable to man. This region was, according to the historical evidence of chapter III, the area in which the Ovimbundu moved before they entered the Benguela Highlands of central Angola. Parts of chapters III and X ("Historical Sources" and "Culture Contacts," respectively) are devoted to an analysis of the cultural factors of the Congo area from the year A.D. 1500 to the present day.

131 The central portion of Angola is the area most important in this research because it is the home of the Ovimbundu, whose cultural

3. Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

III. HISTORICAL SOURCES

175 The object of this chapter is the presentation of a summary of
173 literature relating to Angola from A.D. 1500 down to the present
167 day. In this literature there may be accounts of the movements of tribes which will throw some light on the origin of the Ovimbundu, and the date of their migration into the Benguela Highlands. Present-day tradition of the Ovimbundu is unanimous in declaring that the tribe came from the northeast of its present locality, but some
[101] historical justification of this belief is desirable. The word Ovimbundu ("people of the fog") may refer to the heavy morning mists of highland regions, and there is the possibility that the Ovimbundu adopted this name when they settled on the high plateau.

121 If there is historical evidence in favor of the traditional home of the Ovimbundu being the region of the north and northeast of Angola, what was the ethnological background of these areas at the time when the Ovimbundu became detached from a matrix of northern Angolan tribes? In other words, what cultural factors are the Ovimbundu likely to have brought with them into the Benguela Highlands? The ultimate origin of these factors is a point which has not been neglected (chapter XI, "Wider Culture Contacts"), but for the moment the primary concern is the historical background of the Ovimbundu, with special reference to tribal movements and cultural traits.

As part of this historical inquiry, contacts of the Portuguese and the Ovimbundu are of importance. When and where did the Portuguese come into contact with the Ovimbundu and with what results to the indigenous culture?

127 Chapters IV–IX deal exclusively with my field work among the Ovimbundu in 1929. Therefore it is pertinent to ask to what extent the ethnological observations of travelers and early explorers will corroborate the information recorded in my own notes. Will there be contradiction or confirmation of personal observations? Possibly the ethnological notes obtained from historical sources will serve, not merely to corroborate my field work, but actually to extend the area of occurrence of important cultural traits which I noted in 1929.

The literature describing Angolan history and customs is here presented in the form of a chronological bibliography, which is annotated so as to emphasize points bearing on the purpose of this historical analysis. That there should be a fragmentary presentation of data is an inevitable consequence of the nature of the literature

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

175 that the Church participated actively (T. Lewis, The Old Kingdom of Kongo, *Geog. Journ.*, 1908, pp. 598–600).

Political influence of the Portuguese, working often through the agency of Jesuit priests, led to factions within the Congo Empire, and the resulting disturbances caused movements of peoples that affected the whole of northern Angola and the population of the Benguela Highlands.

Portuguese penetration of the hinterland of Angola, especially from Loanda to Bihé, was concerned with attempts to subjugate native tribes, the establishment of trading posts, and the encouragement of the slave trade (S. Marquardsen, Angola, 1928, pp. 6–10).

439 721 The value of the Portuguese as allies of Umbundu caravans from Bihé lay in their ability to supply guns and powder to their native henchmen, who gave something more than military service in return. In response to Portuguese demand for slaves and ivory, Umbundu caravans made long journeys into the Congo basin, Rhodesia, south and southwest Angola, and possibly across Africa to lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa. The arms supplied in exchange for ivory and slaves must have helped the Ovimbundu in all their predatory excursions.

648 Thus the Ovimbundu were, in the early centuries of contact with the Portuguese, invaders encouraged in the building up of their tribal life and resources. Never were the Portuguese strong enough completely to subjugate northern Angola. Relationships with natives, especially the Bihéan section of the Ovimbundu, were directed toward alliances on a commercial basis. The political result of this was a combination of the Portuguese and the stronger tribes for the exploitation of the weaker.

167 177 The historical ethnology of the southwest Congo is so complex that the elements are difficult to disentangle. The number of tribes concerned is great, and their movements are not easy to follow; but a gradual extension of people from the Congo in a southwesterly direction through Lunda to the Benguela Highlands (1600–1800) seems to be the summation of all the conflict. I regard the Ovimbundu as the most southerly branch of these mass movements, during which they received a discipline that enabled them to make their home in central Angola, despite opposition from the Portuguese and earlier arrivals.

114 For these conclusions reliance has been placed on the extensive field work and historical analyses of E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, whose "Notes on the Ethnography of the Bambala" (*J.R.A.I.*, XXXV, pp. 396–426) have proved of particular value in this connection.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

The kernel of the migratory problem of the Ovimbundu is reached when Torday traces out the history of the Kimbundu, for the Kimbundu are present-day neighbors of the Ovimbundu, to whom they are closely allied in language and culture (*ovi* is a Bantu plural prefix, which was perhaps used to express the inclusion of Kimbundu and Babunda under the general name Ovimbundu).

Torday's sifting of the historical evidence results in the conclusion that the Kimbundu came from the northeast, fighting their way to the Luando. These Kimbundu divided, with civil war as a consequence. One section crossed the river Kwanza, south of which they specialized in agriculture after becoming sedentary. Their sub-chief they called the *Kalunga*, which is the present-day word used by the Ovimbundu in greeting their chiefs. Traditions of the Ovimbundu point to the northeast as a center from which they spread at least ten generations ago. The rise of the powerful kingdom of Lunda dates from the seventeenth century, and although the details of this concentration of power in northeast Angola are unknown the general effects are understood. There was a great displacement of tribes in a southerly and southwesterly direction. In connection with the suggestion that the Ovimbundu came from the northeast of Angola, there is the necessity for recording the absence of even a fragment of historical evidence or tribal tradition indicating that the Ovimbundu came from the south or the east of Angola.

Cultural affinities of the Ovimbundu with tribes of the southwest Congo in particular, and with western Bantu culture in general, strongly support the foregoing deductions from historical sources (chapter X).

There is a probability that tribal disturbances resulting from the rise of the Lunda Empire led to a spread of the Vachokue over eastern Angola. Some of the effects of this contact have already been mentioned in chapter II, where contacts of the Ovimbundu and the Vachokue were discussed. The journey brought me into contact with the Vachokue at Cangamba, Katoko, and Ngalangi, of which Cangamba is the most easterly.

Witnessing of initiation ceremonies combined with observation of physique, language, and artifacts, leads me to agree with Torday that Cangamba is probably the ancient center of Vachokue culture. As one proceeds from Cangamba westward this type of culture becomes thinner as the borders of the country occupied by the Ovimbundu are approached. On the border line, between the cultures of the Vachokue and the Ovimbundu, notably at Ngongo near Ngalangi,

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

174 there is tribal and cultural miscegenation. Both Umbundu and
171 Vachokue languages are spoken; boys of Ngalangi were seen to wear
[881] initiation costumes similar to those worn at Cangamba by the Vachokue, but on proceeding farther westward into territory exclusively occupied by the Ovimbundu, such initiation ceremonies are either absent or attenuated in ritual.

144 Elende, one center of research among the Ovimbundu, repre-
101 sents the purest Umbundu speech and culture observable at the present day. But in chapter IV some physical resemblance of the Ovimbundu to the Vachokue is noted. Warfare commonly resulted in the taking of slaves, a fact which might account for an apparent infusion of Vachokue blood in some of the Ovimbundu.

174 The historical data suggest a northern or northeastern starting
167 point of Umbundu migrations. Therefore an inquiry into the ethnology of these areas will be useful in showing the kind of culture with which the Ovimbundu were in contact before their settlement in the Benguela Highlands. If historical sources disclose the nature of northern Angolan culture from the year A.D. 1500 onward, such evidence can then be considered in relation to cultural traits of the Ovimbundu at the present day.

The establishment of strong cultural resemblances between extant Umbundu culture and older cultural patterns of northern Angola, would tend to strengthen the evidence of history respecting the northern origin of the Ovimbundu.

131 The regions dealt with in the following summary of ethnological
174 facts are the Cabinda Enclave to the north of the Congo estuary, the region of San Salvador, the hinterlands of Loanda and Benguela, and the area of northern Angola between Lat. 7° and 9° S. and Long. 13° to 22° E. This covers the whole area with which the Ovimbundu are likely to have been in contact before entering their present home.

175 My survey begins with the observations of Andrew Battell in
101 1596. His account deals mainly with the northwestern part of Angola, a country bordering on and actually including territory now occupied by the Ovimbundu, who in all probability came in contact with the Jaggas, whose habits of life are described by Battell.

Torday and Joyce identify the Jaggas with the present-day Bayaka, whose cultural resemblances to the Ovimbundu are examined later. In my opinion, the Jaggas correspond well with the Bihéan section of the Ovimbundu, an itinerant and exceedingly warlike people.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13
Angola FP1

THE OVIMBUNDU UNDER TWO SOVEREIGNTIES

M 496 463 Most of the employees of the Benguela Railway are Ovimbundu and many of the old pupils of the Catholic seminaries and of the Protestant secondary school[5] have found employment on it as clerks and telegraphists. The railway has also become a means M [167] of Umbundu migration carrying Ovimbundu to work in the coastal cities and plantations, and on the other side carrying their speech with it to the interior.

A 433 Angola is economically a land of primary production, and its cities and towns are founded on trade. There is little industry, although Lobito is noted for its cement works and saw mill, and drinks, both alcoholic and soft, paper and pottery are all manufactured in Angola.[6] On the coastal plain there are sugar plantations and there are a number of other plantations especially on the western fringe of the Highland, but the main crop of the Highland is maize, grown by the Ovimbundu and sold by the traders to the official boards which have store-houses on A 438 the railway line. The traders have generally tended to scatter themselves over the countryside though now the Government is insisting on new traders settling in recognized hamlets. The A 361 towns are small and frankly rather dismal places, serving as the administrative and postal centres for the neighbourhood, with a parish church, a school, two or three hotels, perhaps a club, and occasional cinema shows and a number of stores with a rather wider range of goods than those in the bush. They are significant from the point of view of communications, linking the traders in the bush to the cities and the railway.

A 49 A network of roads covers the Benguela Highland with the result that all villages are at most only a few miles from a track which is usable by motor vehicles. A truck seen on one of these roads will most likely belong to a trader, though it might belong to an official on one of his rare local trips, to a missionary, or to a labour recruiter. There are now a number of bus services in the Highland. As these serve only a certain number of roads, villagers who want to make a journey of any distance must walk or thumb a lift from a trader (who will charge) or a missionary (who will not charge) or ride on one of the still infrequent bicycles, his own, or a borrowed one.

[5] At Dondi, with Dr. Childs as headmaster.
[6] Egerton, op. cit., pp. 131–2. Galvão and Selvagem, op. cit., pp. 334–8.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

Cela, and Cela influences are notable in several ways.[24] In Cassongue Umbundu has relatively recently ousted other speech.[25] Geographically Bimbe generally is rather lower than most of the Highland. Although the railway line and the growth of maize have been influential here, an alternative pull for labour migration is provided by the coffee plantation of Amboim and Seles, and by the coastal towns of Novo Redondo and Porto Amboim.[26] In the days of the caravan trade Novo Redondo was an important trading centre, more important perhaps than Benguela for the people of this area.

Work is sought by Ovimbundu in lands far from their home. There are Ovimbundu at Brazzaville; others have settled permanently in the Congo Republic, or work in Rhodesia; the Johannesburg mines have employed many, and some have gone as far as Natal.[27] In Epalanga, the village where I lived, there were two men who had been to Johannesburg—nor was this very exceptional and I am told that among the people south of the railway it is quite common.

The world picture of the Ovimbundu is vague, except as regards Angola and the neighbouring countries. The existence of Europe (Putu) composed of different nations Portuguese, French, and English is known, and I was several times asked if there were black people in England. Little or nothing is known of the other continents. The island of S. Tomé in the Atlantic is known, since up to recently Angolan labourers went there, and some convicts are still sent to it. Several people from the neighbourhood had lived in Luanda or worked on coffee plantations in northern Angola. The Belgian Congo was known as Bula Matadi, though people seem little aware of Rhodesia, and Mozambique (Portuguese East Africa) is confused with the southern Angolan port of Moçamedes. The railway lines and the cities along it are of course well known, and some of the people I knew had travelled to Kwanyama country in the far south of Angola to buy cattle. Johannesburg (Zhwaini) and its

[24] Notably in the arm ornaments and hair styles favoured by some women. Cela diviners are often consulted.

[25] Childs (p. 179) suggests that the change came about in the nineteenth century.

[26] For this area of Angola see Egerton, pp. 186–8. Galvão and Selvagem, pp. 378–80, 457–8.

[27] Personal information. Also Childs, p. 213.